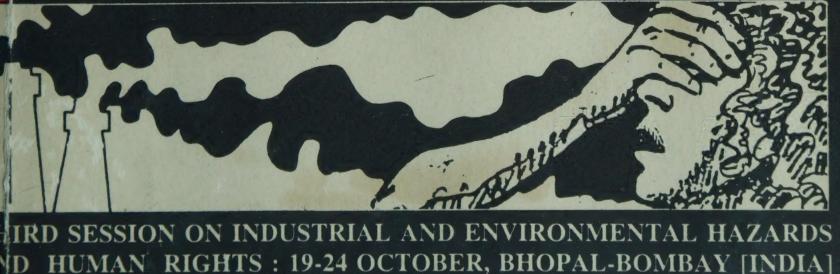
PERMANENT PEOPLES' TRIBUNAL



IRD SESSION ON INDUSTRIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS D HUMAN RIGHTS: 19-24 OCTOBER, BHOPAL-BOMBAY [INDIA]

COMMUN.

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THEALTH CELL

FOREWORD

Toxic chemicals and potentially fatal technologies are now used at a level imprecedented in human history. As workers, consumers, or simply residents, we are all increasingly exposed to the life-threatening side effects of industrial growth. Nowhere is this more true than in those countries which are willing to rade life and limb for the promise of increased income. Recognising this systematic threat to human well-being, and also the need for a sober understanding of its causes and consequences, the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal agreed to convene a series of hearings on industrial and environmental hazards.

The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal held its third session on Industrial and Environmental Hazards and Human Rights on 19 - 24 October, 1992 in Bhopal and Bombay, India. Continuing the work already started in earlier sessions at New Haven (April 1991) and Bangkok (October 1991), the ten Judges listened to he testimony of people from all over Asia. The third session was held in Bhopal pecause it provided immediate access to thousands of aggrieved parties and pecause the city symbolises the destructive potential of industrial technology.

In keeping with its quasi-judicial function, the Tribunal addresses its Finding o governments and peoples' movements alike. The Judges stress that the deaths and injuries resulting from hazards are avoidable rather than inevitable, and should be treated as human rights violations demanding urgent redress. An appropriate response, the Tribunal concludes, involves both legal and non-legal nitiatives, and must join the political mobilization of workers and communities with the technical expertise of scientists, engineers, and the medical profession.

It is hoped that this text will foster and support such a response wherever azards occur.

Sd/) (Sd/)

ustice K.M. Subhan
Chairperson of the Third Session

Michael R. Anderson Amicus Curiae 02298 OH 1110

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BACKGROUND







Background

In December 1989 the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal agreed to accept a petition from the International Coalition for Justice in Bhopal complaining of human rights abuses arising from industrial and environmental hazards. This petition was subsequently supported by the International Network for Victims of Corporate and Government Abuse. The Tribunal declared the request to be admissible under Article 3 of the Statute of the Tribunal.

It was agreed that given the wide geographical distribution of complaints, and the high level of technical and doctrinal complexity involved, the Tribunal should receive evidence and deliberate over a span of four distinct sessions. The first session was held at Yale Law School, New Haven, Connecticut, USA, in April 1991. The second session was held in Bangkok, Thailand in October 1991. Following these, and in anticipation of the fourth and final session, the third session was convened in Bhopal, India, from 19 to 23 October, 1992.

In accordance with Article 6 of the Statute of the Tribunal, the following individuals were appointed by the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal to act as Judges for this session:

- Mr. Ajit Roy (India)
 Founder member of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal and well-known author and journalist.
- Prof. Andrea Giardina (Italy)
 Professor of Political Science and International Law at the University of Rome.
- 3. Prof. A.R. Desai (India)
 Former Head of the Department of Sociology at Bombay University, author of 42 books in English and Gujarati.
- 4. Mr. Augusto S. Sanchez (Philippines)
 Chairman of the Philippine Conference for Human Rights, and former Minister for Labour and Employment.
- 5. Dr. Hettigamage Sriyananda (Sri Lanka)
 Professor of Electrical Engineering in the Open University of Sri Lanka.
- Mr. Kuo Chi-Jen (Taiwan)

 Attorney, former Director of the Taiwanese Association for Workers' Rights, and current Chief of the Taipei County Labour Bureau.

- 7. Dr. M.M. Thomas (India)
 - Professor of Theology, former Chairman of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches (1968-75), and former Governor of Nagaland.
- 8. Dr. Rosalie Bertell (Canada)

Distinguished mathematician, educationist and expert on public health, and current President of the International Institute of Concern for Public Health, Canada.

9. Dr. Syed Husin Ali (Malaysia)

Former Professor of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Malaya, and current President of the Parti Rakyat Malaysia (Malaysian Peoples' Party).

10. Justice K.M. Subhan (Bangladesh)

Former Judge of the Supreme Court of Bangladesh, and current Chairman of the Bangladesh Human Rights Commission.

Given the highly technical nature of the issues and evidence, the Tribuna instituted a procedure of drawing upon the specialised expertise of individual distinguished in their knowledge and experience of industrial and environmenta hazards and human rights. To this end, the following individuals agreed to act a an **Advisory Committee** to the Judges:

- 1. Dr. Hoang Trong Quynh
- 2. Dr. K. Zaki Hasan
- 3. Mr. Park Seok-Woon
- 4. Dr. Nicole Tilman
- 5. Mrs. P. Mary Manel Abhayaratne
- 6. Prof. Satish Dhawan
- 7. Ms. Shabana Azmi
- 8. Mr. Tani Yoichi
- 9. Dr. Tan Ka Kheng
- 10. Dr. Vandana Shiva
- 11. Mr. Jose Mencio Molintas
- 12. Mr. Alamsyah Hamdani

- Vietnam
- Pakistan
- Korea
- Taiwan
- Sri Lanka
- India
- India
- Japan
- Malaysia
- India
- Philippines
- Indonesia

Background

India

Italy

Additionally, the following individuals acted as Technical Experts:

| Mr. Pramode S. Mujumdar | - | India |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|
| Dr. Murlidhar | - | India |
| Dr. Veena | - | India |
| Dr. Vu Tanh | _ | Vietnam |
| Dr. Yang Gil-Seong | - | South Korea |
| Dr. Harada Masazumi | - | Japan |
| Dr. June Margareth Magdalene Luhulima | - | Indonesia |
| Dr. Dinesh Mohan | - | India |
| Dr. Orapun Metadilogkul | - | Thailand |
| Ms. Tsang Yuen Yi | - | Hong Kong |
| | Dr. Murlidhar Dr. Veena Dr. Vu Tanh Dr. Yang Gil-Seong Dr. Harada Masazumi Dr. June Margareth Magdalene Luhulima Dr. Dinesh Mohan Dr. Orapun Metadilogkul | Dr. Murlidhar Dr. Veena Dr. Vu Tanh Dr. Yang Gil-Seong Dr. Harada Masazumi Dr. June Margareth Magdalene Luhulima Dr. Dinesh Mohan Dr. Orapun Metadilogkul |

The following individuals acted as Amici Curiae:

Mr. Mihir Desai

Dr. Gianni Tognoni

| 1. | Di. Ciaimi Tognom | _ | Italy |
|----|--|---|-------|
| | (Secretary-General, Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, Rome) | | |
| 2. | Mr. Michael Anderson | - | UK |
| 3. | Prof. Upendra Baxi | - | India |
| 4. | Mr. Ward Morehouse | - | USA |

In accordance with Articles 14 and 15 of the Statute the following accused parties were notified of the sessions, sent copies of written testimony in which they were accused, and invited to participate in the proceedings either by sending a representative or by submitting a written statement:

- 1. Union Carbide Corporation, Union Carbide (India) Ltd, Government of India, Government of Madhya Pradesh (India)
- 2. Benguet Corporation (Philippines)
- 3. Asian Rare Earth, Sendrian Berhad (Malaysia)
- 4. Wonjin Rayon Company Limited (South Korea)
- 5. Cipel Marco Fur Processing Co. Ltd.
- 6. Tai-Bang Electric Pvt. Ltd., Taiwan General Tool and Die Corporation (Taiwan)
- 7. Union Carbide Corpn., Formosa Plastics Corpn. (U.S.A.)

Two accused parties responded. One (The Ministry of Chemicals and Fertilizers on behalf of the Government of India) indicated it would send a observer who, however, never appeared. The other (Formosa Plastics, USA submitted a written statement which was circulated to the members of the Tribunal along with the testimony of Diane Wilson accusing the company of creating environmental and industrial hazards and violating the human rights of the community surrounding its Point Comfort, Texas.

The Tribunal held public hearings at the **Gandhi Bhavan**, **Shyamala Hills Bhopal** and heard testimony from the following persons, representing th victims' organizations indicated.

ORAL AND WRITTEN TESTIMONIES

| Persons who testified | Place/Country | Organisation |
|----------------------------|---------------|--|
| Ms. Rashida Bi | Bhopal, India | Bhopal Gas Pidit Mahila Stationery Karmachari Sangh |
| Ms. Krishna Srivastav | " | Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Congress |
| Mr. Abdul Jabbar Khan | 11 | Bhopal Gas Peedit Mahila Udyog Sangathan |
| Mr. Sadhana Karnik | 11 | Zahreeli Gas Kand Sangharsh Morcha |
| Ms. Shamshad Bi | 11 | 11 |
| Ms. Safia Bi | 11 | tt |
| Ms. Fatima Bi | " | Nirashrit Pension Bhogi Sangharsh Morcha |
| Mr. T.R. Chouhan | 11 | Ex-employee, Union Carbide India Limited |
| Mr. Bhailal Motibhai Patel | Baroda, India | Ex-employee, Alembic Glass Industries Ltd. |

Background

| Mr. | Eduard P. Mangile | Philippines | United Concerned Citizens of UCAB (UCCU) |
|------|--|-------------|---|
| beha | Dunu Roy | Malaysia | Perak Anti-Radio Active on Committee |
| | h Ah Peng Mr. Hiu-Sun Tai | 11 | " |
| Mr. | Lee Jeong-Jae | Korea | Councils for Wonjin Occupational Diseases |
| Mr. | George Jayarathnam | Sri Lanka | Ex-employee, Eskimo Fashion Network |
| Mr. | Sakamoto Teruki | Japan | Solidarity Network Asia & Minamata |
| Mr. | Ng Man Kang | Hong Kong | Association for the rights of Industrial Accident Victims (ARIAV) |
| Ms. | Mac Thi Hoa | Vietnam | 10-80 Committee National Committee for Investigation of the Consequences of the Chemicals used during the Vietnam war |
| on t | Zaki Hassan behalf of ikh Abdul Rehman | Pakistan | Hattar Welfare Society |
| | Ibrar Hussain Shah | п | 11 |
| Ms. | Kaitaew Karun | Thailand | Ex-employee, Seagate Technology of Thailand |
| Ms. | Prayoon Sriarun . | Thailand | Ex-employee, Bangkok Textile Company |
| Mr. | Chen Chi-Liang | Taiwan | Association for Victims of Occupational Accidents and Diseases — Ching-Jen Labor Health & Safety Service |

Mr. Yau-Chung Chang Taiwan Association for Victims of

Occupational Accidents and Diseases — Ching-Jen Laboration

Health & Safety Service

Cultural Heritage, Hazaribagh,

Chilika Bachao Andolan

Panaspada, Puri, India

Bihar, India

Mr. Ismail Effendi Indonesia Villagers of Tambon Baroh

North Sumatra

The Tribunal noted with regret that two witnesses from the Pera Anti-Radioactive Committee in Malaysia, Hew-Yoon Tat and Win Ah Pen were unable to appear before the Tribunal because they were not given visas enter India. For the same reason, Ms. Asma Jahangir, leading lawyer and huma rights activist was unable to serve on the Panel of Judges for this session of the Tribunal.

WRITTEN TESTIMONIES

The Tribunal also considered a number of written testimonies, includin the following:

| Ms. Diane Wilson | Seadrift, Texas, USA | Calhoun County Resource Watch |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| Mr. Sujato Bhadra | Calcutta, India | Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights, Calcutta |
| Mr. Sunil Kumar Rajput | Bhopal, India | Children Against Carbide |
| Mr. Alok Pratap Singh | Bhopal, India | Zahreeli Gas Kand Sangharsh Morcha |
| Mr. N.D. Jayaprakash | Delhi, India | Bhopal Gas Peedit Sangharsh Sahayog Samiti |
| Mr. Indranil Bhattacharya | West Bengal, India | Local Popular Peasant Front, Sundarbans, West Bengal |
| Mr. J. Gathia & Ms. Savita Bajpai | New Delhi, India | Centre for Concern for Child Labour, New Delhi |
| Bulu Imam | Bihar, India | Indian National Trust for Art & |

Puri, India

Chitaranjan

Background

Shashikant Pareekh

Bhopal, India

Employee of Union Carbide (India) Ltd.

The following Bhopal gas victims responded to newspaper advertisements requesting those willing to offer their personal testimony to notify the Tribunal Secretariat:

Usha Saluja

Pravin Kumar Tiwari

Mohan Parlani

M.R. Soni

Rakesh Manra

Rajendra Kushwaha, Santani Kushwaha

Mitthu Lal Srivastav, Smt. Rashmi Srivastava, Diwakar Srivastava

Mohammad Yhaya

Habib Ahmad Alias Banne

Ishwar Kushwaha Gopilal, Ashok Kushwaha

Mr. Lalwani, Rustam Khan Ka Ahata

OTHER SUBMISSIONS AND DOCUMENTS

Response from Susan Wong, Formosa Plastics (USA) Inc. to Testimony submitted by Diane Wilson, Calhoun County Resource Watch and Communities concerned about Corporations.

Letter with 4 Annexures from Prof. Heeresh Chandra, Retired Director of the Department of Forensic Medicine and Toxicology, Gandhi Medical College, Bhopal, 21 October, 1992.

Written response from T.R. Chouhan to questions raised by Dr. Rosalie Bertell, 19 October, 1992.

Written response from Abdul Jabbar Khan to questions raised by the Panel of Judges, 19 October, 1992.

Submission from S. Dhara, Environmental consultant and occupational safety specialist, New Delhi, 19 October, 1992.

Rajiv Lochan, "Health Damage Due to Bhopal Gas Disaster: Review of Medi-Research", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 25 May, 1991, pp. 1322-1323.

Indian Council of Medical Research, Annual Report of Bhopal Gas Disaster, Resear Centre, 1990.

Government of India, Ministry of Chemical & Fertilizers, Letter to the Welfare Commsioner, Bhopal Gas Victims, on "Guidelines and Quantum of Compensation Payable Each Type of Injury or Loss", 13 April, 1992.

Union Carbide Corporation, Operation/Safety Survey of Bhopal Plant (Tyson Report May 1982.

Union Carbide Corporation, Bhopal MIC Team Investigation Report, March 1985.

Bhopal Group for Information and Action, Compensation Disbursement: Problems at Possibilities, (Bhopal, BGIA) January, 1991.

T. Narayan, "The Health Impact of the Bhopal Disaster: An Epidemiological Perspective *Economic and Political Weekly*, 18 August, 1990.

Video Presentation by the Hong Kong Trade Union Education Centre on industrial hazards in the Guangdong province of the Peoples Republic of China.

T. Jones (Action for Safety and Health, Dublin, Ireland), An Alliance of State and Capit (both Multinational and Local) for Development and Against the People.

Dr. Thelma Narayan, Aspects of Community Health in Relation to Industrial Hazard

Dr.C. Sathyamala, Dr. Nishith Vohra, K. Satish, Against All Odds: Continuing effects the Toxic Gases on the Health Status of the Surviving Population in Bhopal.

Prof. Satish Dhawan, A Suggestion to the Panel of Judges.

Dr. Dinesh Mohan, Comments for Judges and Experts.

Submission by the Occupational Health and Safety Centre, Bombay.

David Dembo, Clarence Dias, Ratna Kapur, Mark Williams, & Ward Morehous Charters of Rights of Victims, Workers, and Communities.

Submission by Michael R. Anderson, Amicus Curiae.

Background

Submission by Dr. S.K. Chatterjee, Centre for Improvement of Quality of Working Life, Bombay.

- Submission by Madhusudan G. Rao, Environmental Engineer, Bombay.
- Submission on Asbestosis and Asbestos-Related Illnesses in Thailand, Orapun Metadilogkul, M.D.
- Submission by Satinath Sarangi, Bhopal Group for Information and Action.
- Submission on Industrial and Environmental Hazards and Human Rights in Japan by Masazumi Harada.
- Submission by Acmad Santosa, Yasan Lembaga Bantuan Hukum Indonesia (Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation).
- Cordillera Resource Center for Indigenous Peoples' Rights, Special Report on the Antamok Gold Project (Philippines).
- S.R. Kamat, et al., "Sequential Respiratory, Psychologic, and Immunologic Studies in Relation to Methyl Isocyanate Exposure over Two Years with Model Development" Environmental Health Perspectives, vol 97, 1992.

Noting the very large number of international legal instruments considered at the second session of the Tribunal in April 1991, the Tribunal gave consideration to the following:

- Charter of the United Nations, 1945.
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.
- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966.
- International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, 1966.
- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979.
- Proclamation of Tehran, 1968.
- Declaration on Social Progress and Development, 1969.
- Declaration on the Right to Development, 1986.

- ILO Convention 169 Concerning Indigenous and Tribal Peoples in Independent Countries, 1989.
- The Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples (Algiers, 1976).
- The Business Charter for Sustainable Development (International Chambers Commerce, adopted 27 November, 1990).
- International Labour Organisation, Code of Practice on the Prevention of Ma Industrial Accidents (1991).
- Second International Water Tribunal, Verdict (February 1992).

AIMS OF THIS THIRD SESSION





Aims of this Third Session

The aims of this session included:

- To conclude the examination of representative cases of industrial and environmental hazards;
- To follow up the cases considered in previous sessions, especially that of Bhopal;
- To draw upon extensive medical and technical expertise necessary to understand the testimonies more fully;
- To identify common mechanisms in the causation and effects of hazards;
 - To further evolve an approach to industrial and environmental hazards, more specifically linked to human and peoples' rights, as a contribution to the fourth and final session.

CONTINUITY WITH PAST SESSIONS

Working conditions and environmental hazards have been repeatedly considered in previous sessions of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (PPT) as an important component of the violation of fundamental human and peoples' rights. Recalling the different contexts and issues which the Tribunal has considered in past sessions serves to highlight the continuity of the Tribunal's concern in this area, and places industrial and environmental hazards in a broader doctrinal framework, permitting a more comprehensive analysis. Reference should be made specifically to the following verdicts:

Verdict on the IMF and World Bank Policies (Berlin, 1988).

There is a direct relationship between the mechanisms and policies of international financial agencies and the worsening of working and environmental conditions of the areas most compliant to the models of development rigidly based on market criteria. As purely economic indicators drive decision making, constitutional rights and basic entitlements, as well as the principle of international comity, are subjugated to so-called "economic laws".

Verdict on Brazilian Amazonia (Paris, 1990).

The massive violation of the fundamental rights of indigenous peoples

(with the scale and characteristics of genocide) is the precondition for, at the product of, the destruction and degradation of the Amazonian rivers a forests. There is a general tendency to acknowledge the environment threat to the world, but to dissociate it from the more direct and dramatimpact on the life of peoples.

Verdict on Impunity for Crimes Against Humanity (Bogota, 1991).

The Tribunal heard evidence of widespread and systematic human rig abuses perpetrated by individuals who could act with impunity und domestic law. The coexistence of dictatorship and democracy is made possible by neo-liberal models of development which require the impunion of individuals involved in repressive practices and dirty wars, as they also the controllers of the financial sector and therefore privileged partners in an international relationship. This further extends social degradation as corrupts community and societal life, with the exclusion of the majority the populations from political participation and the denial of the rights nutrition, health, and education, which are the concrete expression of fundamental right to a human life.

Special Session on the Conquest of America and International Law (Padua-Venice, 1992).

While representing a critically important and irreversible step forward, present system of international relations based on the UN Charter is clear insufficient to provide protection and promotion of the fundamental rig of peoples. The system is being openly distorted to become a tool re-legitimate the conduct of war. Under this regime, the economic, so and cultural well being of the 80% of humanity under the pressure structural adjustments (which serve the other 20%), are deteriorated putting further stress on human and physical environments. International law, which was born as the justification and legitimation of the Conquest America in 1492, in the name of the right to commerce for a small group states, has acted against the rights of peoples, and must face the challe of democratising its institutions and broadening the base of its 'coga authority to the domain of economic relationships, where the new wars waged and peoples rights denied or violated.

There is no doubt that the issues presented to the present session Industrial and Environmental Hazards occupy a priority position in larger perspective.

Aims of this Third Session

From the conclusions drawn at the Yale and Bangkok hearings, it is absolutely clear that victims of industrial and environmental hazards share common demands. Put in simple terms, *each* victim has made three assertions:

- i) *I do not want to be a victim*, and all steps should be taken to guard against my victimisation;
- ii) If I am a victim, I want all available help, and expect government, industry, and community to come to my aid;
- iii) *I do not want to be revictimised* by governments, companies, courts, or the medical and legal professions.

The demands are straightforward. One of the purposes of this Tribunal is to elaborate them into a new peoples' jurisprudence.

EVOLVING A HUMAN RIGHTS APPROACH TO HAZARDS

The last 50 years have witnessed an escalation in global pollution with nuclear fallout and toxic chemical waste. This has led to serious problems for workers and threats to the general public. Simultaneously and perhaps because of these threats, workers and the public have awakened to a new awareness of their human right to health and life as well as their sacred trust to pass on an intact life support system and gene pool to future generations.

The Permanent Peoples' Tribunal recognises that though the police power of the state has traditionally been identified as the principal vehicle for violating human rights, many of the most pervasive human rights violations arise as the consequence of institutions and social processes which are not traditionally subject to human rights scrutiny. Human rights are routinely violated by private individuals, companies, and organisations. In both, the workplace and the marketplace, stronger individuals exercise partial or absolute power over the weaker sections of society, frequently resulting in the violation of the most fundamental human rights and freedoms, including the rights to association, health, and even life itself. Moreover, these violations are often motivated and facilitated by ideologies of economic development, patterns of industrial and bureaucratic organisation, and existing legal structures. In these fields, there is ample evidence of human rights violations, but they are seldom recognised as such. The deaths, indignities, and suffering among the affected are frequently

dismissed as accidents, statistical inevitabilities or the natural costs development.

The Tribunal rejects such euphemisms. A principal objective in the session on industrial and environmental hazards is to conceive of these issues afresh, arrive at a new conceptual framework which will reflect the outrage and prote expressed by those who have suffered from such hazards. Deaths, injuries, a other indignities cannot be dismissed, no matter what degree of economic grow or industrial strength they may accompany. The Tribunal regards to anti-humanitarian effects of industrial and environmental hazards not as a unavoidable part of the existing industrial system, but rather as a pervasive at organised violation of the most fundamental rights of humanity. Foremost amost these are the rights to life, health, expression, association, and access to justice

In the previous two sessions on industrial and environmental hazards, amprevidence was presented of widespread human suffering and death as a result hazardous activities. If suffering is re-imagined in terms of human rights abuse it becomes possible to affirm the validity of victim protest, to condemn to systems which justify particular forms of suffering, and to conceive of systems for preventing and mitigating such abuses. From a human rights perspective, to accidents, illnesses, and deaths frequently associated with industrialisation and normal events but problematic ones; not inevitable but avoidable, no endemic and therefore banal, but extraordinary and thereby outrageous.

Traditional human rights law is not inclined to address industrial and environmental hazards. Human rights standards have too often been narrowly interprete to exclude from their purview the anti-humanitarian effects of industrialisation and environmental damage. Yet the juristic postulates for our approach are cleased it is of little difference if the death which comes to the sleeping victim in the middle of the night is caused by a politically-motivated death squad or by a close of poisonous gas. In either case, the right to life of an innocent person is violated in an inexcusable manner. In either case, the basic moral impulse of humanity brutally transgressed, and in either case the international community has profound interest in taking steps to ameliorate the effects of the violation and prevent its repetition.

Even within the field of existing international law, the Human Right Committee of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights has not that the state obligation to protect the right to life should not be understood in

Aims of this Third Session

restrictive manner, and requires that states adopt positive measures, including all possible measures to increase life expectancy. It is widely considered the proper business of the state to protect individuals from physical harm, and to ensure that the prevailing socio-economic and working conditions facilitate the well being of citizens. Despite these nascent trends, legal remedies for the suffering caused by industrial and environmental hazards remain deplorably deficient.

In its multiple sessions on industrial and environmental hazards, the Tribunal has sought to receive testimony from individuals coming from diverse geographical regions, belonging to a wide spectrum of social classes, and adhering to different systems of belief. And yet these individuals and communities belong to a unified people, not marked by distinctions of language, religion, or history, but strongly linked by the common experience of exposure to industrial and environmental hazards. Vulnerable communities share with workers a set of common circumstances, a shared identity based on victimisation and resistance, and similar objectives expressed through solidarity in struggle. That corporations and governments frequently endeavour to manipulate petty differences to tear asunder this fundamental bond is testimony to the potential strength of this solidarity. This 'people' is expanding in size as industrialisation intensifies and spreads to every corner of our shared habitat. Industrial and environmental hazards respect no national frontiers or ideological boundaries: all citizens of the world are potentially exposed to such hazards.

Unlike previous sessions of the Tribunal, the sessions on Industrial and Environmental Hazards have been forced to consider evidence of a highly technical nature. Industrial and environmental hazards cannot be appreciated fully without some reference to engineering, clinical medicine, and epidemiology. For too long these specialist knowledges have excluded lay people from decision-making. The widespread mobilization of peoples' groups against such hazards is an attempt to recapture the right to participate in decision making. So too, the Tribunal has resolved, in an attempt to fill a gap in the international juridical order, to provide a forum for linking technical data with peoples' rights.

This effort has raised difficulties. Much of the evidence demands careful examination, and in many instances, the necessary studies have simply not been conducted. Nevertheless, the Tribunal has made every effort to interrogate the available information with care, drawing upon the assistance of the Advisory Committee and Technical Experts.

According to its predefined terms of reference, the Tribunal normally select and examines individual cases as indicative of the larger problem before the Tribunal, although it may reach preliminary conclusions about some cases base on the evidence presented to it. In the case of Bhopal, however, a decision has been taken to pronounce a definitive finding, both because of the overwhelming quantity of evidence available and because of the historic nature of the traged as the world's worst industrial disaster.

Facts and Findings of the Bhopal Case

BARE FACTS

The facts of the Bhopal case are widely known. Following a leak of gas from the Union Carbide plant on 2-3 December, 1984, thousands of people died, and hundreds of thousands were injured or exposed. The subsequent litigation was slow and frustrating: the US courts refused to hear the case, and after much procrastination the Indian Supreme Court affirmed a negotiated settlement for \$470 million in February 1989. That order was reaffirmed in October 1991, and though criminal charges remain outstanding, the principal narrative remains that of the victims' struggle.

MEDICAL TREATMENT

According to epidemiological studies carried out by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), a government research institute, the total estimated exposed population in 1984 was 5,21,262. It is alleged that the poisonous gases have caused damage to almost every system of the body due to which close to 2,00,000 continue to suffer acutely and over 3,00,000 suffer mildly from different symptoms even today. It has also been indicated, in studies sponsored by the government, that children born to gas-exposed women suffer disproportionately from physical and mental retardation. Despite this, the only treatment available to the victims is administration of symptomatic drugs which offer only temporary relief.

Medical researchers and doctors in government hospitals have abandoned the search for a proper line of treatment, even before it has begun. The inadequacies of the drug-centered hospital-based medical care include the prescription of unnecessary and hazardous drugs. While hospitals are important, neighbourhood clinics are often better able to deliver primary health care and routine support, including essential information, regular monitoring, and physiotherapy. Victim testimony has highlighted the irrelevance of building more hospitals and has sought the creation of an independent medical commission on Bhopal.

Perhaps most disturbing of all is the clear absence of a systematic medical strategy for the purposes of assessing injury, providing primary and secondary medical care, and co-ordinating research.

ECONOMIC REHABILITATION

A majority of the people exposed to the toxic gases earned their livelih through physical labour prior to the disaster. The physical and mental proble caused by the gases led to substantial incapacitation among such a popular with consequent reduction in their earnings. An estimated population of 50, is in need to gainful employment in accordance with their reduced work capace. As against this, only 2,500 women gas victims had been provided sewing job government rehabilitation centres. Since July 1992, even the rehabilitation centres have been closed down by the state government.

The government's emphasis, in addressing the problem, has been distributing dole payments. The administration of monetary relief is riddled vecorruption, arbitrariness and bureaucratic apathy. The failure to provide proceonomic rehabilitation makes the people dependent on government doles a militates against the victims' right to a dignified life.

ENVIRONMENTAL REHABILITATION

The continuing sickness of the Bhopal people and particularly the damage cause to their immune system has increased the general vulnerability to infection a necessitates the provision of hygenic living and safe working conditions. Desprepeated assurances, the government has not provided properly construct houses, clean drinking water and garbage disposal systems in the gas-affect communities. Preliminary analysis of soil samples and ground water from communities near the Carbide factory by the Citizen's Environmental Laborate have indicated their contamination by at least seven different kinds of hazarde chemicals including two carcinogens. People exposed to MIC are more sensit to smoke and other air pollutants, so air pollution control is particularly import in Bhopal.

COMPENSATION

The total compensation paid by Union Carbide is inadequate for long to medical care and rehabilitation of the victims. The government does not have complete list of victims, and it is estimated that as many as 1,00,000 victims (ware residents of the 36 municipal wards, officially declared to be gas-affected have not been registered by government officials. The evaluation of injuries

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the victims done by the government is far from complete, since even according to government figures 45% of claimants have not been medically examined. Medical examinations carried out on the rest of the claimants have been hasty, poorly documented, and subject to corrupt practices. According to the Directorate of Claims, over 90% of the victim-claimants have been categorized as having suffered only temporary injuries or no injuries at all. Such figures are sharply contradicted by medical studies on Bhopal, including those carried out by government institutions. The payment of compensation according to the government scheme will lead to wrongful denial of compensation to a majority of the victims. Over 8,000 death claims have been rejected by the government-appointed scrutinising committee without offering any reasons.

As per the Supreme Court's final orders, claims are being adjudicated through Claims Courts. With roughly 2,000 cases disposed of over a period of 8 months, the Claims Courts are likely to require 10 years or more to hear all the claims. As outlined by the government, in case a victim appeals against the compensation awarded to her, she would not be paid anything until the case is disposed of in the appellate court. Also, an appeal would only be considered if it is filed within one month of the announcement of the award. While going to the appeal court, the victim will be required to deposit a court fee which would be returned to her in case the appeal goes in her favour and would be forfeited if she loses the case. The Tribunal fears that disbursement of compensation will be yet another disaster for the victims of Bhopal.

Organisations of gas victims have proposed an alternative scheme for disbursement of compensation. The proposed scheme seeks to minimise wrongful denial, delay, harassment and corruption and calls for a broad definition of a gas-affected person. It recommends payment of a final sum to all residents of the 36 wards (declared to be gas-affected) after conducting an effective screening exercise. The proposed scheme obviates the need for each of the over 5,00,000 claimants to present themselves before the Claims Courts and suggests specific roles for the Deputy Claims Commissioners. This recommendation demands serious consideration by concerned government officials.

LONG TERM EFFECTS

Victim groups contend that in toxic actions, where the latency period for the manifestations of the effects of the exposure is unpredictable, it is necessary to

have a 're-opener' clause, as in the very nature of toxic injuries t latency-period for the manifestation of exposure is unpredictable. Any structur settlement should contemplate and provide for the baneful contingencies of t future.

None other than the UCC counsel, Mr. Fali Nariman, has concurred with the view that the effects of MIC are unpredictable. To substantiate his point Mr. Nariman referred to the following passage of an ICMR report: "Based of clinical experience gained so far, it is believed that many of them [i.e. victim would require specialized medicare for several years since MIC is an extreme reactive substance, the possibility of the exposed population developing hither unsuspected complications in the future cannot be ruled out".

Noting the above stand of UCC, the Supreme Court of India observed: "Who is, however, implicit in the stand of the UCC is the admission that exposure to MIC has such grim application for the future; but UCC urges that the Union of India must be deemed to have put all these into the scales at the time it settled the claim for 470 million US dollars."

So the controversy is not whether those exposed to MIC, a lethal toxic poisor might develop hitherto unsuspected complications but, whether the Government of India had ever taken this aspect seriously into consideration at the time of arriving at the settlement. The contention of the victim-groups is that the settlement did not envisage the possibilities of delayed manifestations of aggravation of toxic morbidity in the exposed population. This aspect, therefore must be taken care of in two ways: first by making adequate financial provision for medical surveillance costs for the exposed but still latent population, and second, by providing a 're-opener' clause to allow for compensation in cases of unforseen or as yet unmanifested injuries.

OUTCOME OF THE REVISION PETITIONS

In its ruling on the revision petitions, on 3rd October, 1991, the Supreme Couupheld the validity of the Bhopal Settlement while revoking criminal immunigranted to UCC. However, despite apprehending that there could be a shortfain the settlement amount, the Court absolved Union Carbide Corporation of a further liabilities and, instead, decided to pass on the liability for any shortfa both at present and in future, to the Union of India.

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FAIRNESS HEARING DENIED

Moreover, Justice Misra has quite candidly admitted that the merits of the case have not been examined because such a process, according to his interpretation, is too tedious and time consuming. Justice Misra has gone on to add that considered justice is a luxury far beyond the reach of the likes of Bhopal gas victims and is something that they should not aspire for. To justify his position, Justice Misra, quoting from an earlier judgment, said: "Admirable though it [considered justice] may be, it is at once slow and costly. It is a finished product of great beauty, but entails an immense sacrifice of time, money and talent. This beautiful system is frequently a luxury; it tends to give a high quality of justice only when, for one reason or the other, parties can surmount the substantial barriers which it erects to most people and to many types of claims". This approach, which endorses an inferior quality of justice is a clear violation of Article 32 of the Indian Constitution as well as the right to adequate legal remedy guaranteed under international human rights instruments.

CRIMINAL CASE

The Central Bureau of Investigations (CBI), which was investigating the criminal case, was barred from probing the case any further after the settlement order of 14/15 February, 1989 had granted UCC immunity from criminal prosecution. The Court finally revoked the immunity on 3rd October, 1991, and investigations have begun afresh into the criminal case. However, a study to compare the designs, including safety systems, of the two pesticide plants of UCC — the one in Bhopal (now closed) with its counterpart in West Virgina, U.S.A. — has not been undertaken as yet. Nor has the Government begun extradition proceedings against the then UCC Chief, Warren Anderson, against whom a non-bailable arrest warrant has been pending since 27th March, 1992.

DELAYS

The eight years since the gas leak have seen neither (a) the development of fair and non-invasive criteria for identifying gas-affected people, nor (b) a satisfactory resolution of the process for distributing compensation. The lengthy delays compound the difficulty of finding solutions and constantly revictimise the affected. This suggests an urgency to reach a fair and workable solution for Bhopal compensation.

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COMMENTARY UPON THE USE OF MEDICAL EVIDENCE

The role of medical information in Bhopal is an instructive example for technic professions in other industrial and environmental hazards. Health consequent are one of the most immediately visible, and often directly measurable, effort of such hazards. Medical investigations, including both clinical case studies epidemiological work, play therefore an important role both with respect to an and long term interventions, and may have an enormous impact evaluating damages and assessing levels of compensation. The Bhopal case comprehensive and dramatically negative example of the way in who the provision of medical services, when linked with other institution components of the disaster complex, contributed to the violation of people fundamental rights.

It is widely recognised that disaster medicine is a young science, only recent organised as a distinct discipline. Now is the time to make a crucial intervent in the discipline as it is forming. There are at least two essential preconditions medical due process. First, the procedures employed must provide absolute traparency so that they may be replicated and understood by the wider communand secondly, rules should be adopted for the strict coordination of the variate specialised components of medical intervention which must be organised managed simultaneously. The purely technical equipment required for these pre-requisities is usually available. Their application is a matter of policy therefore of recognisable responsibilities. The following pattern of facts of clear in the case of Bhopal:

- 1. There was a clear denial of the right to transparent information Knowledge of the possible evolution and consequences of the pathology well as potential remedies, was denied. This amounted not only to a formation of passive non-communication, but to an active misleading on the part Union Carbide Corporation.
- 2. There was a failure to advocate the timely intervention of independent international bodies and agencies, which could have provided necess information and guidance. The Indian Government adopted a position absolute self-sufficiency which placed excessive burdens on the Indian Council of Medical Research and denied the victims their rights independent professional evaluation.

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- 3. The most striking and appalling failure is indicated by the absence, even so many years after the event, of any systematic epidemiological plan to provide reliable knowledge about the extent of injury. This is particularly important in the case of an accident where the complexity and difficulty is not so much in the nature of the toxic component, but rather more in the geographical and social extent of exposure, the background circumstances of the population, and a multi-system failure of coping mechanisms.
- 4. The many national and international, and often sophisticated, investigations of the medical effects in Bhopal fail to overcome a fundamental limitation, which is the absence of a reliable geographical and social map of the affected persons. A national medical task force (with or without international assistance) was warranted from the very early phase, and should have been mandated to declare its procedures, to comply with internationally accepted professional standards, and to publish all findings for public scrutiny.
- 5. The nature of the population involved, including its socio-economic position and the difficulties in access to medical care, required an epidemiological approach based on a deep, systematic, and periodic involvement of community groups. Such an approach, using already well known and readily available techniques, which not only generate more reliable and sensitive data, but which favour the development of awareness among individuals and groups in the community, could have been coordinated in consultation with internationally recognised epidemiologists.
- 6. The long term failure to provide any of the above interventions can only be seen as a sign of obvious irresponsibility on the part of the Indian government health authorities. While any elaboration of the reasons behind such a failure would be mere speculation, it is clear that the failure itself is an unmistakable sign of disregard for the right to information which was (and is) an indispensable condition for proper care and compensation.
- 7. Because of the magnitude the case, and the way in which it symbolised the contradictions of industrial development, the failure to provide an independent analysis of the health situation of the Bhopal victims involves also the responsibility of the health professionals themselves. The health professionals could have used their influence with the government and among the UN agencies and other international bodies to lobby for more

satisfactory intervention. The medical profession has a clear so responsibility to mobilise its political resources in such cases, and in Bhit clearly failed miserably.

- 8. A quantitatively accurate estimate of the medical damages induced the disaster, which occurred eight years ago, will never be possible methodologically serious effort should however be attempted to evaluand critically revise the existing data, not only to have better estimate the degree of severe consequences, but also to provide the people of Bhowith reliable and transparent information to be used in ascertaining long term consequences.
- 9. Because of the extremely poor record of reliability and transparency whas characterised medical studies of Bhopal, any pretension to rely heat on the present medical evidence for quantifying damages or deciding compensation measures must be regarded with profound suspic Existing data are almost certainly tainted by substantial under assessment and misreporting.
- 10. Health consequences are only partial, though often crucial, indicator more profound disruption of the society where more extended consequences have occurred. The compensation for such disruption can obey a criterion of impossible quantitative certainty. The absence of an appropriate variety signals irresponsibility of the Indian and Madhya Pradesh governments. people of Bhopal have a legitimate expectation that future policies will to compensate for their painful stories of neglect.

DEFINITIVE CONCLUSIONS AND JUDGEMENT ON THE BHOPAL CASE





Definitive Conclusions and Judgement on the Bhopal Case

CONCLUSIONS

laving received both oral and written testimony from victims, workers, xperts and others at all three sessions of the Tribunal on industrial and nvironmental hazards and human rights (Yale, Bangkok, and Bhopal) the ribunal finds that:

- The fundamental human rights of the victims of the world's worst industrial disaster, including Articles 1, 7, 10, and 16 of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples (Algiers, July 1976), Articles 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 12, 17, 19, 23 and 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (New York, December 1948), and Articles 14, 19, 21, 38, 39, 41, 42 and 43A of the Indian Constitution have been grossly violated.
- Union Carbide Corporation, its subsidiary, Union Carbide (India) Ltd., and key officials of both are clearly guilty of having caused the world's worst industrial disaster through the design and operation of the Carbide factory in Bhopal, regardless of the extent to which others, including local, state, and national government, may have contributed to the disaster. This finding is based on Carbide's own documents, the evidence generated through the discovery process in the Federal District Court in New York, and oral and written testimony presented at three sessions of this Tribunal.
- The Government of India and the Government Madhya Pradesh are also clearly guilty of violating the rights of the victims, not only under international human rights law, but also under the Indian Constitution. The catalogue of wrongs inflicted on the victims by these governments is long, beginning with location of the extremely hazardous MIC unit in a populated area in contravention of the government's own rules and the urban plan for Bhopal. The catalogue continues with such wrongs as the deliberate miscategorisation of victims in terms of injury or disablement, the refusal to register a large number of claims, including many children, and the inexcusable delay in processing claims (still not complete after more than eight years).
- Existing mechanisms to deal with the consequences of such catastrophes, and to prevent them happening in the first place have failed miserably thus far in Bhopal. Equally conspicuous for their failure are the two prevailing

- modes for dealing with threats to the environment and human safe namely, industry self-regulation and government policing.
- 5. Also conspicuous in their failure to help ameliorate the distress of the viction have been, with some notable exceptions, the legal and medical profession. Indeed, on some occasions these professions have aided and abetted revictimisation of the victims.
- 6. Under no circumstances can the killing and injury of so many innocent peo be considered an acceptable cost of development. Such a rationalisate reflects a twisted and pathological approach to social and economic chan

JUDGEMENT

Based on these findings, the Tribunal regrets and deplores:

- 1. The manner in which the due process of adjudication was circumvented the premature and unwarranted announcement of the February 1989 ord imposing an unjust settlement on victims without consulting them. To order is all the more deplorable because it allowed UCC to escape without facing legal or financial responsibility, because the amount of the settlement is too little to meet existing needs, and because the unmet burd will fall on the Indian taxpayer rather than the guilty party.
- 2. The prevention, through this settlement order, of completion of hearings the merits in the case.
- 3. The justification of the settlement by way of a manipulated medic categorisation which violated the right to justice of victims, and virtua accomplished denial of expeditious and equitable realisation of damage and compensation.
- 4. The failure of the Indian Supreme Court to sieze the opportunity to ke Union Carbide in its continuing jurisdiction for a definite period of time ensure that its duties of cooperation in recognising rights of victims a meeting their legitimate claims arising from the latent, unfolding, a long term effects of MIC would be fulfilled.
- 5. The lack of proper health care, which has been denied to most of a victim community.

Definitive Conclusions and Findings on the Bhopal Case

- 6. The denial of the basic dignity of victims, who have been subject to highly arbitrary bureaucratic processes, such as the administration of interim relief, review of victim claims, and unkept promises of medical treatment. Victims of industrial and environmental hazards have a non-negotiable right to dignity which has not been respected in Bhopal.
- 7. Policies of urban destruction which revictimise the victims by destroying their impoverished access to the right to shelter and callous diversion of funds intended for rehabillitation of gas victims for urban development and beautification unrelated to their real needs.
- 8. The failure of government to provide sustained and meaningful opportunities for the vocational rehabilitation of the victims so that they would no longer be dependent on government doles.

The Tribunal appreciates the following developments as historically appropriate responses that set precedents for comparable action in other cases involving violations of human rights from industrial and environmental hazards:

- 1. The provision, following an exceedingly long and concerted campaign of protest and lobbying by the victims, of *interim relief* aimed at helping victims resist the imposition of unfair or inadequate settlements, even though the relief started more than four years after the disaster and its administration has been marred by corruption.
- 2. The rigorous enunciation and pursuit of the legal doctrine of *absolute* multinatonal enterprise liability by the government of India which we urge be universalised through national legislation and international agreement.
- 3. The lodging of *criminal charges* against Union Carbide Corporation, its Indian subsidiary, and key officials of both companies.

The Tribunal recommends, with the utmost concern for immediate and effective action, that the following steps be taken without delay:

- 1. Development and implementation by the governments of India and Madhya Pradesh of a comprehensive plan of action for economic and medical rehabilitation of victims, formulated with the participation of victim groups and accountable to both, the local and international communities.
- 2. Assurance by the national and state governments of continued access to

shelter in accordance with international standards set forth in internation human rights instruments, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the Declaration on the Right to Shelter.

3. Development of clear biomedical criteria for compensation of victims, wi satisfactory provision for those victims unable to document the connection between their current disability, eight years after the disaster, and exposure to MIC and other gases from the Carbide pesticide factory. The distribution of compensation must not only avoid false claims, but also must avoid unjust exclusion of true claims. The government must expect that a large number of victims will have legitimate claims and yet be unable document their residential and medical histories. An inability to provide documentation cannot be an excuse for revictimization.

Voluntary organisations and activists should consider how they can hel local communities organise by neighbourhoods, identify their victims, an assist them in documenting their expenses during and since the disaste Action should also be taken to restore 7 out of 15 categories of compensable claims as set forth in the Bhopal Gas Leak Disaster (Registration and Processing of Claims) Scheme of 1985 and as directed by the Government of India Ministry of Chemicals and Fertilizers in its letter of 13 April, 199 to the Madhya Pradesh Welfare Commissioner for Bhopal Gas Victims.

- 4. Provision of adequate, readily available, and continuing health care an monitoring.
- 5. Creation of an independent international Medical Commission to review available data on the health conditions of the victims, to identify gaps in the data with recommendations of how, if at all, they can be filled, and to propose realistic criteria for determining how the victims, on the basis of available and readily obtainable data can be classified. This Commission might also be designated as a body to which individual victims could appear their medical categorisation if the government persists with its present effort to determine medical conditions on the basis of existing healt records and superficial medical examinations.
- 6. Establishment of an international panel of medical and economic special ists in compensation to determine fair compensation levels for different categories of disabled victims and for relatives of the deceased.

Definitive Conclusions and Findings on the Bhopal Case

- An independent investigation into the harassment of women victims, including police violence. The investigation should also examine attempts to interfere with their efforts to organise for mutual protection and advocacy of their rights. The investigation should consider violations of rights as set forth in the Indian Constitution and international law including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.
- A comparative study by an indepedent body of competent persons of the safety systems and procedures in the Carbide pesticide factories in Institute, West Virginia, and Bhopal to determine to what extent the Bhopal disaster can be attributed to double standards between similar plants in industrialised and Third World countries.
- 9. Prompt issue of an extradition order for former Union Carbide Chairman Warren Anderson under the Indo-US extradition treaty and vigorous and timely prosecution of Warren Anderson and the Union Carbide Corporation for culpable homicide as stipulated under the Indian Penal Code and in fulfillment of the Supreme Court decision of October 1991 restoring the original criminal charges.



FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS ON OTHER CASES





In the Bhopal session, the Tribunal heard other cases, principally from Asian countries, and records its finding as follows. In each case, allegations were made of human rights violations associated with industrial and environmental hazards. These cases differ in character, demonstrating that industrial and environmental hazards occur in both large scale and small scale undertakings, and can be manifested in both isolated incidents and long term poisonings. Hazards may occur in a variety of circumstances, but in each case there appears to be ample evidence of harm to humans, including insult, injury and death. While it has not been possible to reach definitive conclusions on each incident, the Tribunal urges all parties concerned to take prompt and effective action to protect the rights of workers, communities, and victims.

1. AGENT ORANGE IN VIETNAM

The Tribunal heard testimony of a highly technical and extremely welldocumented nature on the effects of Agent Orange sprayed by US troops during the Second Indo-China War (1961-1975). The testimony complemented that received at the Yale session on the effects on Agent Orange on US veterans. Agent Orange, a herbicide containing the highly toxic substance dioxin, was sprayed on an estimated 14% of South Vietnam's woody vegetation cover. Vegetation was lost, trees were damaged, and widespread soil erosion resulted. Rivers were polluted with dioxin, and animal life sustained a moderate level of damage later exacerbated by the lack of vegetation cover. Evidence was presented from medical studies and a recent Food and Agriculture Organisation investigation. Combining satellite measures with biochemical analysis of soil and wildlife samples now allows for a more complete estimation of the extent of environmental damage sustained as a result of the war. Dioxin levels in breast milk and fat tissue remain high. Dioxin is still evident in soil samples and in the silt of the Saigon river. The same symptoms which have been shown to occur in US veterans — abnormally high mortality rates, high prevalence of neurological disorders, abnormally high incidence of cardio-respiratory disorders, and abnormalities in semen — continue to affect a large proportion of Vietnam's population. The Vietnamese people and territory have become an experimental laboratory where the biological and epidemiological consequences of uncontrolled pollution can be monitored. The affected community also experiences a high degree of insecurity in the face of unknown effects, and is revictimised through its dependence on external sources for the expensive technological tools necessary to assess its condition.

The use of chemical warfare in Vietnam is by now a well established fact. Tribunal can only conclude that the systematic and deliberate exposure of a lapopulation to a known toxin such as dioxin amounts to a gross violation of rights to life, health, and dignity. That the violation occurred during a time of does not excuse the violation. Since exposure, the Vietnamese victims, untitheir US counterparts, have had no opportunity to voice their complaints befithe US government. Not only have the victims carried on their lives with medical support or compensation from the perpetrator, their plight has not expected of the perpetrator of the properties of the use involves issues relating to conduct of war beyond the remit of this Tribunal, we wish to emphasise the environmental hazards cannot be justified by war, and that the US governments should be held accountable for its actions. There appears to be a continuity a complementarity between military and industrial hazards: shared technologic techniques and systems of power bear further consideration in the next session the Tribunal.

2. BENGUET CORPORATION, PHILIPPINES

The Tribunal received oral and written testimony regarding the open pit go mining operation conducted by the Benguet Corporation in the Itogon region the Philippines. Though small scale mining has operated in the area for mayears, the commencement of large scale mechanised mining started in 1989, a appears to have had disastrous social and ecological effects. The plaintidescribed in detail the following consequences:

- Environmental destruction manifested in the levelling of tall mountain excavation of craters up to 300 feet deep; stripping of vegetation and tops without provision for resoiling and with an attendant loss in biodiversing pollution of the river system flowing from Itogon with heavy metapoisonous salts, and acids; damage to aquifers and a lowering of the wattable; uncontained dumping of toxic chemical wastes in the form mine tailings.
- Widespread health and safety hazards resulting from chemical poisoning underground blasting, improper storage of toxic substances, dangeround mine structures, and unregulated fire hazards.
- Dislocation of small scale miners, mine workers, and farmers, with attendant loss of livelihood for some 20,000 to 25,000 people.

- The loss of ancestral land belonging to the indigenous people of Itogon was affected when the Benguet Corporation acquired patented mining claims based on suspect legal provisions.
- Violation of the indigenous cultural traditions, including the desecration of sacred burial grounds and destruction of places of worship.

Taking this and other evidence into account, the Tribunal concluded that the evidence overwhelmingly indicated that a gross violation of human rights has occurred. The fundamental rights to health, livelihood, and a satisfactory environment have been violated without recompense or mitigation. The indigenous people have suffered violation of their rights to land, resources and cultural autonomy as guaranteed under international instruments. The Benguet Corporation appears to have violated various provisions of Philippine law, including the protection of indigenous peoples guaranteed under the Constitution, the re-soiling requirements under Presidential Decree No. 463, the environmental rehabilitation requirements under Presidential Decree No. 1198, and requirements for environmental management under Proclamation 2048 and Presidential Decree No. 1151. The people of Itogon have been subjected to harassment, arrest, detention, and irrresponsible criminal prosecution. The Philippine government has failed to protect the rights mentioned above, and has supported a gross violation of the fundamental right to justice. Philippine law has served the interests of the Benguet Corporation without providing the victims with effective relief. Accordingly, the Tribunal has arrived at the following conclusions:

- 1. The Tribunal endorses the findings of the Second International Water Tribunal and calls upon the Philippine government to close down the mining operations immediately pending further action.
- 2. The existing environmental impact assessment is inadequate, and we urge that a new assessment should be conducted by an independent group of internationally-recognised experts.
- 3. The Tribunal requests that the Philippine government enforce its own laws as outlined above, and abide by its obligations to the international community to protect the livelihood of indigenous people.
- 4. The Tribunal the scientific and legal communities of the Philippines to lend their technical and professional assistance to the people of Itogon.

Finally, we note with extreme concern that though the people of Itogon made their case in a reasonable, well-documented, and legally sound fashior Philippine government has failed to respond to their legitimate demands.

3. MINAMATA AND NIIGATA, JAPAN

The Tribunal heard testimony from people affected by the methylmer discharged by the Chisso foundation in Minamata, Japan. The releas methylmercury into coastal waters resulted in the death of fishes, birds, domestic animals. Then, starting in 1953, humans began to experience g neurological disorders, for which there is no effective medical treatment. Ne the Chisso corporation nor the local government took any effective step prevent the incidence of Minamata disease. Even after the cause of the dis was identified in 1960, preventive measures were not taken, and in 1965 a p operating with an identical process discharged methylmercury into the A River in Niigata Province. Industry and government failed to learn from the incident, and it was only at this time that the government belatedly prohibite direct discharge of methyulmercury. In Minamata, approximately 1,300 per have died from the disease, currently 2,200 persons have been offic recognised as having Minamata disease, and about another 10,000 are suspe of having the disease. In Niigata, the numbers are approximately 300 c 700 officially recognised with the disease, and about 2,000 suspected of ha the disease. Victims have been subject to extreme social censure, derision humiliation. Though some of the victims have been paid compensation majority of cases are still outstanding, awaiting a slow judicial process.

In the cases of Minamata and Niigata, the Tribunal finds the evidence clear and overwhelming. The right to life has been violated on a scale we resembles small scale genocide. The right to health has been subject to sin abuse. There have been straightforward and unambiguous violations of victims' rights to preventive measures, information, dignity, compensation justice.

4. ASIAN RARE EARTH, MALAYSIA

Unfortunately, representatives for the plaintiffs were denied entry visas to and were thus unable to testify. However, previous testimony had been pres

at the Bangkok session, and testimony was presented at the Bhopal session on their behalf. The Tribunal received evidence of highly hazardous operations being conducted by the Asian Rare Earth company in Bukit Merah, Malaysia, which is jointly owned by Mitsubishi Chemical Industries Ltd., and a local company, Beh Minerals. Since the plant was established in 1982, abnormally high rates of miscarriages, infertility, infant deaths, leukaemia, and congenital malformations have been reported. In 1985, the Bukit Merah community brought a civil action against ARE in the Ipoh High Court. After a three-and-a-half year trial and evaluating the testimony of competing experts, the Court decided in 7.11.92 that the plant is not safe for operation. The High Court ruled that ARE is not entitled to operate its factory and keep its toxic and radioactive waste in Bukit Merah Industrial Estate. The Court gave the defendents 14 days to remove everything.

The defendents applied for stay of execution, which was granted by the Supreme Court on 5/8/1992. The Supreme Court merely held that the plant needed more time to stop operations as well as to remove the radioactive waste to a determined dump site. It did not decide whether the plant was safe for operations. Indeed, it was not asked to do so. Ironically, the Prime Minister, on 17/8/1992 stated that he will only respect the findings of certain kinds of experts with regard to establishing whether ARE is safe to continue operations.

It is noted that this highly hazardous industry commenced production in July 1982 without a license under the Radioactive Substances Act, 1968 from the Ministry of Health, the proper authority for issuing licenses. This license was obtained in November 1985, only after the Bukit Merah community filed a civil action and obtained an interlocutory injunction against the defendents. Research has shown that the hazardous operation of the factory has exceeded the legal limit for exposure to radiation imposed by the Atomic Energy Licensing Board under the Atomic Energy Licensing Act, 1984.

Without doubt industrial hazards caused by ARE have affected health and life of the surrounding community, especially women and children. The Tribunal expresses alarm over the information conveyed to the panel of judges that the Papar Community may have lost faith in court action, since the Supreme Court could easily bow to political pressures and overturn the earlier High Court decision. The Tribunal hopes that the people in Malaysia and all over the world will continue to support the struggle of the Papar Community and that the

government of Malaysia will show greater concern for the community members than the profits to be accrued from this dangerous development.

5. TEXTILE WORKERS IN SOUTH KOREA

Evidence was received concerning carbon disulphide poisoning among text workers employed by Wonjin Rayon Ltd. The affected individuals, who suffrom a variety of systemic maladies, have struggled to have their conditional recognised by the company and the government. The government medicauthorities appear to have grossly underestimated the level of injury, who neither the company nor the government have abided by the workers' demand establish a regime for monitoring worker health. Worker protest was success in prompting prosecution of the company chairman, but their health continues deteriorate. Despite an agreement with the government and the company institute an independent injury assessment committee, the Ministry of Labour Fundamental Struggle Continues.

This case is indicative of a much broader pattern of disregard for work safety in South Korea, but it is unusual in that workers were actually able to mou a campaign which received public recognition. Witnesses testified that thou the workers' right to know is guaranteed under the law, it is virtually impossible to get information in the workplace. The government's industrialisation policies created an environment in which employers are almost never punished their violations of the law while trade unions are rigorously policed.

The Tribunal finds that the workers' rights to information and a safe workpla have been repeatedly violated. Wonjin Rayon and companies like it have absolute duty to provide workers with information which may affect their heal The government has failed to protect worker rights to association and health. the particular case of Wonjin Rayon, there is a *prima facie* case of crimin negligence.

6. OCCUPATIONAL HAZARDS IN THAILAND

The Tribunal was presented with evidence of asbestosis and silicosis amo workers in Thailand. A number of Thai industries use asbestos in production processes, and the health and safety measures employed are often far below standard prevalent in higher income countries. A high incidence of asbestosis has a safety measures employed are often far below to standard prevalent in higher income countries.

been found in surveys of industrial workers exposed to asbestos. Other studies have reported a high incidence of silicosis in an iron ore mill (12.5% of workers), and among stone mortar workers in northern Thailand (21% of workers). Silicosis is a serious condition which is not reversible and can lead to debilitation or death.

In each of the cases it is clear that the Thai government has failed to provide a regulatory structure adequate to the task of preventing workers' injury. There have been unnecessary violations of the rights to health. The Tribunal wishes to convey to the Thai government its extreme concern at the apparent disregard for the well being of workers.

7. SILICOSIS IN AN INDIAN GLASS FACTORY

Testimony was received regarding the incidence of silicosis among workers in the Alembic Glass Factory, Baroda, India. Inhalation of fine silica dust at the workplace has led to the death of at least 15 workers so far. At least 70 workers suffer from progressively deteriorating lung disease. Company doctors misdiagnosed pulmonary tuberculosis, and workers mounted a struggle to have their condition recognised by national authorities. While some compensation is now being paid, the injury assessments are unsystematic and arbitrary, and payments are much delayed.

The Tribunal registers its concern at the apparent violation of substantive and procedural rights, and urges that the state and national authorities take prompt action to prevent the recurrence of silicosis, and ensure more satisfactory compensation to the injured and bereaved.

8. CIPEL-MARCO INCIDENT IN HONG KONG

Testimony was heard regarding a benzene fire in the Cipel-Marco factory in Hong Kong. It appears that the company and the Factory Inspectorate of Hong Kong failed to ensure that the highly toxic and flammable benzene was properly stored and managed. The testimony documented hazardous storage methods, frequent spillage, excessively high ambient temperature in the benzene area, and inadequate provision of information and training to workers. More than 50% of the workers are reported to have smoked in the vicinity of the benzene. Overheated ball bearings triggered the fire of October 1986 which killed

13 workers and severely injured 24 others. Trade unions provided support victims and launched a campaign to highlight the hazard involved. This result in a new law on Carcinogenic Substances in Industry. Subsequent campaign has produced further legislation on hazards in industrial undertakings.

The Tribunal notes with satisfaction the progress made by the trade unand commends their actions as an example for others involved in si struggles. However, it is profoundly unfortunate that death and injury hoccur on such a large scale before government and industry were able to action. Moreover, testimony indicates that without trade union vigilance campaigning, what gains have been made may be quickly lost.

9. OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH HAZARDS IN TAIWAN

The Tribunal received detailed and meticulously documented evidence occupational hazards in Taiwan. Two representative cases, one of electric s and the other of severe burns, are typical in a country which registers occupational deaths per month. Mechanisms for prevention and compens appear to be grossly inadequate. Small scale units are able to avoid govern regulation, but government standards appear to be unusually lax even in formal sector. The gross violation of workers rights in Taiwan is encourage a *laissez-faire* policy which resists holding employers accountable for actions. Based on this evidence, the Tribunal concludes:

- 1. It is evident that the widespread occurrence of occupational hazar Taiwan stems in part from deliberate government complacency. Tribunal urges the Republic of China to assume responsibility occupational hazards, to pursue preventive measures without delay, a take responsibility for supervising effective compensation. The notion liability exists only between citizens and private companies is excess narrow. Occupational hazards result in part from the state's develop strategy, and the state has a general obligation to protect the rights citizens.
- 2. Workers should be given access to all reports, documents, and mate concerning the implementation of protective regulations.
- 3. At present, employers are only compelled to report accidents if three p are injured. The obligation to report should apply even if only one p

is injured. Immediately following the report, the government inspectors should carry out an effective and comprehensive investigation, making the findings known to workers.

- Employers who openly violate health and safety laws should be made subject to strict criminal sanctions.
- Trade unions and professional groups should be consulted in the revision of current health and safety laws.

10. INDUSTRIAL HAZARDS IN GUANGDONG PROVINCE, PRC

A video presentation and written testimony were submitted to the Tribunal on industrial hazards in the Guangdong province of the Peoples Republic of China. This province has been subject to rapid and often imperfectly planned industrialisation. Growth has been particularly fast in the three special economic zones of Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou. Workers in the province complain of a number of rights violations:

At least 66 workers have died in the last year in fires or explosions at the workplace. The majority of cases can be attributed to inadequate safety and hazard prevention measures.

- There are inadequate industrial safety measures against dust and fumes; personal safety devices are inadequate or missing entirely.
- There is widespread infringement of workers' rights including body searching, hostel searches, illegal deduction of wages, and physical harassment.
- Since 90% of the migrant labour force is female, many have been subject to sexual abuse or have been forced into prostitution. Resistance has been met with arbitrary dismissal and violence.

The Tribunal does not possess sufficient evidence to reach a definitive conclusion on this case, however, there is evidence of death and injury associated with industrial hazards. Violations of the rights to life and health appear to be closely associated with violations of the rights to physical and mental integrity.

There appears to be a systematic violation of the provisions of the Convention the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. Finally, Tribunal registers its concern that workers in the Peoples Republic of Chin not appear to have access to the rights of free speech and association which pre-requisites for worker safety.

11. HAZARDS IN THE EXPORT PROCESSING ZONE, SRI LANK

Testimony was provided of occupational hazards in the Eskimo Fast Knitwear Company based in the Free Trade Zone near Colombo. Worker the factory complain of exposure to chemicals and fumes in the dyeing second the factory, indicating that they have not been supplied with safety equipment and that prescribed safety measures are not followed. Management has ignorous complaints of skin disease and respiratory problems. Workers attempts to very their concerns have been met with dismissal.

The Tribunal did not gather enough evidence to reach a definitive concluing this case. However, in circumstances where workers are dismissed discriminatory fashion due to their raising of occupational health and satissues, there is a clear violation of the rights to equality, expression, non-discriminatory employment. Additionally, the Tribunal notes that Sri Lar evidence, like that from the Peoples Republic of China, points to the participate problems of special economic zones. In export processing zones and special districtions, where states seek to encourage rapid industrial ground transfer of technology, there is often a deliberate policy decision to we labour and environmental standards. This is a matter for extreme concern so it deprives workers and communities of state protections, and overtly for the violation of the rights to life, health, association, expression, and satisfactory environment.

12. INDUSTRY IN SOUTH TEXAS

The Tribunal was presented with evidence showing serious violations of human rights of workers and communities surrounding two large chemfacilities in Calhoun County, Texas. One of these facilities is a Union Car Corporation plant at Seadrift, Texas. The other is a Formosa Plastics facility Point Comfort.

In the case of Union Carbide, there was a serious explosion on 12 March, 1991, in which 1 worker was killed and 32 injured. The shrapnel propelled by that explosion barely missed storage tanks in an ethylene oxide tank farm only 150 feet from the site of the explosion. If the shrapnel had struck one of the tanks, it could have created a huge explosion by setting off the entire tank farm where the equivalent of 58 tons of TNT was stored.

A subsequent investigation by the Occupational and Safety Health Administration, a U.S. government agency, revealed that internal safety auditors had informed the Seadrift facilities management of the potential hazard posed by the tank farm's location in 1971, 1978, 1986, and 1989. As in the case of its plant in Bhopal, where an internal safety audit team had warned of serious safety problems at the plant, two years before the plant erupted and gassed the city of Bhopal, the Carbide management ignored these warnings, arguing that it would be too costly to respond properly to them.

The record of Formosa Plastics in Calhoun County, Texas, where the Union Carbide facility is also located, is, if anything, even worse. That plant, in operation for the past decade, has emitted vinyl chloride, a known human carcinogen, on frequent occasions, sometimes in large amounts. Formosa Plastics is now engaged in a massive expansion of its Point Comfort plant so that it will become one of the largest of its kind in the world. This construction was initiated without the company having obtained the necessary government permits, apparently on the assumption that, by presenting government agencies with an accomplished fact when the construction was nearly completed, it would be virtually impossible to deny the company permission to put the plant into production.

The Tribunal gave careful consideration to the statement submitted by the Formosa Plastics Corporation in its defense. The Tribunal is glad to see that the management of the corporation professes concern about issues such as protection of the environment and the health and safety of its workers and the surrounding community. However, we observe that many of the violations of state and federal laws and regulations have been investigated by the appropriate government agency and sustained through that investigation, leading to substantial fines, which Formosa Plastics has paid. Indeed, there appears to be a pattern of lawless behaviour emerging. The company willfully violates the law because it is easier and less costly to pay the legal fines than it is to bring its operations into conformity with the law.

Both, the Formosa Plastics plant at Point Comfort and the Union Carbifacility at Seadrift are located in Calhoun County, approximately 100 mi southwest of Houston on the Texas Gulf coast. Calhoun County one of the poor counties in Texas with chronically high unemployment. Like many of communities in various Asian countries whose cases have been presented to the session of the Tribunal, the people of Calhoun County are extremely vulnerable to aggressive, high-handed behaviour by large corporations such as Unit Carbide and Formosa Plastics.

On the basis of evidence submitted to it, the Tribunal finds serious as sustained violations of key human rights, including but not limited, the following:

The right to life itself, the most fundamental of all rights. (At least 1 Carbide worker and 4 Formosa Plastics workers have been killed recent years);

The right to a healthy and safe environment;

The right to livelihood, particularly of the fishing communities alore that coast. (Both plants discharge toxic sustances into bay waters, which have experienced massive die-offs of dolphin and brown pelicans, a endangered species, and some coastal waters have been closed to furthe commercial fishing).

The Tribunal urges both the Union Carbide Corporation and Formosa Plastic Corporation to cease and desist from violating these and other internationall recognized human rights.

The Tribunal observes that in the case of Union Carbide, its refusal to granthe requests of the Calhoun County Resource Watch for key documents related to the safety of the Seadrift facility and for local citizen inspection with their own technical experts, makes a mockery of Carbide's participation in the U.S. Chemical Manufacturer's Association "Responsible Care" program. Union Carbide is clearly not observing the principles of Responsible Care, (one mott of which is "Don't Trust Us, Track Us,") and unless it changes its behaviour immediately, should be expelled from participation in the program by the CMA And in the case of Formosa Plastics, in view of the abject failure of the regulator process in the hands of both state and federal governments, further work of

Formosa Plastics massive expansion of its Point Comfort facility should be halted mmediately until a thorough and truly independent audit of all aspects of the expansion project have been examined in terms of their consequences for the health and safety of workers, the surrounding community, and the environment.

The significance of these cases for the other cases from Asian countries presented to this session of the Tribunal are two fold. First, with regard to the Bhopal disaster, it appears that Union Carbide is guilty of similar rights violations in another context, and has failed to revise its mode of operation following Bhopal. Second, while this and other sessions of the Tribunal have been presented with various cases in which U.S., European, and Japanese-based multinationals behave irresponsibly toward and escape accountability to their workers and surrounding communities in the Third World, Third World-based multinationals behave in a similar manner toward vulnerable workers in low-income communities in industrialized communities. The critical determinants of irresponsible behaviour and lack of accountability are thus not geographical location of either the victim community or corporate headquarters but the highly unequal distribution of power between large multinational corporations and poor communities and workers, and the vast distance that separates key decision makers in the corporation from those at the local level who are most directly affected by their actions.



GENERAL FINDINGS ON ENVIRONMENTAL AND INDUSTRIAL HAZARDS





General Findings on Environmental and Industrial Hazards

NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY HAZARDS

The hazards of the nuclear industry and radioactive materials deserve special mention. The promise of atomic energy over the last 50 years has proved to be largely illusory and instead turned into a nightmare for the peoples of the world. Putatively 'expert' decisions taken under the cloak of secrecy have now been exposed the world over as fostering serious risks to all of humanity. The arbitrary action of governments, the military establishments, and their industrial partners have often been shrouded in secrecy. Yet, individuals and communities have resisted decisions to locate nuclear installations, opposed that conduct of nuclear tests, publicised the problems in the disposal of nuclear wastes, and opposed the irradiation of food in the name of food preservation. However, community resistance often fails to redress the formidable human rights abuses perpetrated by governments and industry in the name of nuclear science. Even after the end of the Cold War, there is little open discussion allowed on the issues of winding down the nuclear establishment and its associated industries. Communities are not consulted in decision making and are denied access to information essential to their physical and mental well being. The Tribunal can only note with the most extreme and urgent concern, the large numbers of concerned individuals, who, having voiced criticisms of the global nuclear industry, have met with brutal deaths in suspicious circumstances. The inherently hazardous nature of radioactive materials, and the extraordinary long duration of such hazards, pose a serious threat to the right to health, not only of this generation, but of many generations to come. The potential and immanent violations of fundamental human rights, including life, health, and livelihood, demand immediate international action. The Tribunal therefore calls upon the international community to:

- 1. Place an absolute ban on all nuclear tests;
- 2. Conclude an international agreement on the open inspection of nuclear installations in all locations by United Nations teams composed of reputable and qualified individuals serving in their personal capacity;
- 3. Agree to a moratorium on the establishment of any kind of nuclear reactors and facilities until inherently safe designs are evolved and demonstrated, and until truly safe and enduring methods of disposal of nuclear waste have been developed, keeping in mind that inherently safe designs may not be within the reach of human capabilities;

- 4. Provide full and open information in the public domain concerning existing nuclear facilities;
- 5. Provide prompt and fully adequate compensation to all individuals a communities who have suffered from radiation exposure a contamination.

HUMAN RIGHTS AN AGE OF HIGH RISK TECHNOLOGY

With increasing mechanization, industrial units and equipment use more concertated and much higher forms of energy (mechanical, chemical, thermal, a radiation). As a result, a mishap has the potential of inflicting very severe a widespread damage. This has been contained to some extent in the high incord countries, because technology has evolved there along with increased income This process has been accompanied with social pressure and demands for safe in design and legislation. However, when these technologies are used in legislation income countries, or in low income areas in the developed world, the same social pressures are often absent, especially in conditions where workers a communities possess little political power and minimal access to information

SMALL SCALE UNITS

A significant proportion of workers in Asia are employed in small scale unit Since such units exist in large numbers, and are often without trade unit representation, it is difficult for government agencies, workers, or others monitor their activities. The owners of small scale units also do not have to wherewithal either to gather information on occupational health and safety, or implement safety measures. Mechanisms need to be evolved to safeguard hum rights in these circumstances.

Though the Tribunal is not in a position to make definitive recommendation on this topic, several possibilities bear consideration. One possible way forward would be to form workers' associations on the basis of similar products a processes. These associations could then keep abreast of occupational hear issues and countermeasures against damage. Secondly, small scale units might brought under the rigours of state enforcement, and thus pressurised in

General Findings on Environmental and Industrial Hazards

disseminating information and responding to worker demands. A third strategy would be to establish community monitoring networks in areas where small scale units are numerous. It is important to remember that for the monitoring of small scale units, there may not be suitable models or precedents available from higher income countries.

LABOUR RIGHTS AND HAZARDS

In many countries in Asia, especially in the newly industrialising countries of Southeast Asia, there are severe restrictions on freedom of association for workers. The Tribunal notes, in particular, that the Malaysian government has consistently refused to abide by the findings of the Freedom of Association Committee of the International Labour Organisation in respect of workers' rights in the electronics industry. Although the Malaysian government has allowed for in-house unions to be formed in some factories, yet it has consistently refused to allow the formation of a nation wide union for electronics workers. Further, some electronics MNCs have sabotaged attempts by workers to form even in-house unions in their factories. In such circumstances, workers find it difficult to organise, and impossible to take individual action. Freedom of association is fundamental and should always be respected, but its violation is additionally outrageous in cases where workers and communities are exposed to life-threatening hazards.

LEGAL HAZARDS AND REVICTIMIZATION

Much of the evidence before the Tribunal has indicated that legal institutions often fail to prevent and control hazards, they are generally inadequate to the task of proper compensation, and contribute to delay, harassment, and further suffering on the part of victims. In many instances, victims' organisations have been suppressed by excessive and sometimes brutal policing. The Tribunal notes with extreme concern that in many cases, the existing legal systems condone behaviour which is otherwise unlawful under Constitutional law. In the Philippines, for example, there is a clear conflict between Constitutional rights and the laws governing land use, safety, health, labour, and industrial planning. These conflicts between general rights and regulatory regimes are common, and reate a formidable barrier to effective community action.

MEDICAL DIMENSIONS

Modern chemicals and forms of radiation energy often cause harm which insidious and at times manifests itself only after a long period of time. The these chemicals and radiation enter the body and damage tissues is often perceptible. Therefore, it is frequently difficult or impossible for people to as hazards on the basis of common sense and experience. Thus, in the absence information from experts, people cannot protect themselves. Normal manufacture mechanisms therefore cannot be expected to work in such situations. The pand public interest groups have a much greater responsibility in disseminating information about hazardous chemicals and processes using harmful radial and in pursuing action against defaulters. Medical practitioners also need to educated to detect special symptoms of problems which result from chemical and radiation.

TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

In many of the cases considered by the Tribunal, transnational corporations been identified as the main perpetrators of violations. This is true not only USA company in India, and Japanese companies in Malaysia, it is also true Taiwanese company in the USA. Multinational enterprises operate on a gl scale and demand a global response. Although the fiction of separate nati identity of individual units is maintained for public consumption and cer legal and economic advantages, in their basic statements the managers of corporations do not attempt to disguise their global orientations. In the cur situation, transnational cross-breeding in the ownership and control of operational processes has made the directing centres of large corporations lar indifferent to any consideration of national interest, rendering them indepen of the national governments, whether in the metropolitan or peripheral count In these circumstances, public opinion and mass actions have an espec important role to play in countering dangerous proclivities, and prospects opening up for united action by the people of the metropolitan and peripl countries.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

The Tribunal considers it axiomatic that industrial and environmental haz pose dangerous and continuing threats to the survival and well being of mile

General Findings on Environmental and Industrial Hazards

of human beings across the globe, and that among those most vulnerable are indigenous peoples and impoverished peoples of the South who often lack access to the medical, technical, legal and political resources to mitigate the disproportionate human suffering to which they are subjected.

Those who are most severely affected by industrial and environmental hazards are frequently treated as passive victims by governments, courts, and the medical and technical professions. Yet the overwhelming evidence before the Tribunal indicates that the role of passive victim has been repeatedly and vigorously rejected, as people have asserted their rights to be full citizens, with the attendant rights to dignity, justice, and full participation in their societies. The Tribunal affirms these rights, and condemns their violation in case of industrial and environmental hazards.

If the human rights relevant to industrial and environmental hazards are to have any legal or social effect, they must be linked to clear and specific duties. At present, the existing system of international law places duties principally upon states. Though nascent trends suggest that duties may also be articulated for international organisations, individuals, and corporations, these arrangements are clearly inadequate; the specific and absolute duties of governments, corporations, and individuals, must be articulated in conjunction with the enunciation of rights. We recommend that the fourth session of the Tribunal deliberate on responsibilities at greater length. In the interim, certain responsibilities are absolutely clear:

- 1. The international community has an absolute duty to prevent and mitigate hazards. In particular, every state has a responsibility to ensure that transnational investments and undertakings comply with the highest standards of care.
- 2. Governments have an absolute duty to protect the rights of the human community, whether citizens or foreign nationals. Governments are obliged to ensure that the content of the national law does not fall below basic human rights norms. Even in cases where corporations and individuals do comply with minimum norms, governments have a fundamental responsibility to minimise harm, suffering, and environmental damage. Finally, the duty which is most often neglected is the state's obligation to enforce legal standards with relentless energy and uncompromising rigour. This involves not compromising basic rights in agreements with foreign investors and/or with the IMF and IBRD. Governments must ensure that the

- procedural law does not undermine basic protections by allow corporations to escape liability.
- 3. Professional groups, including academics, engineers, lawyers, and med professionals, have a responsibility to execute their tasks in accorda with the best professional ethics. In no circumstances should their acti contribute to the violation of fundamental human rights, and indeed, t should take steps to foster the full realisation of human rights.
- 4. Political activist groups which act on behalf of victims bear a responsibility to victims and the larger community. Such groups should ensure that it act to voice victim concerns and interests with the greatest possible fidely Victims should be represented equally, without discrimination based race, sex, age, religion, or social status. Evidence should be presented in accurate and clear manner, without indulging in unjustified exaggerate which would only damage victim claims in the long run. Groups should allow minor differences of a personal or political nature to come in the voice of coordinated support and advocacy. In particular, leaders of activity groups have a duty of care to ensure that victim claims are not manipulating the pursuit of personal or political ends.

Against the backdrop of the above observations, the Tribunal makes following proposals and recommendations.

PROPOSALS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION



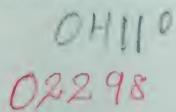


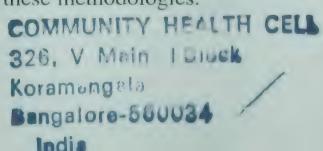
Proposals and Recommendations for Action

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The world has now acquired ample experience of industrial and environmental hazards. Lessons must be learned from these experiences so that those who have died and suffered will not have done so entirely in vain. General strategies for preventing and mitigating the effects of hazards have emerged from the testimony. These strategies are to be recommended to actors at all levels, including victims' groups, communities, workers, businesses, governments, and the international community:

- 1. Where injuries have occured especially where they have occured on a large scale, or in disputed circumstances it is vitally important that independent sources of medical assessment be available. Governments should permit and support independent medical assessment free of political pressure. Activist groups and victims should demand independent medical assessment of the highest professional standard at the earliest opportunity.
- 2. Efforts should be made to make disaster management information and methods more accessible to community groups. This could include development of a personal computer based *disaster management package*, which should be in the public domain. Such a package should include:
 - a. Methods of recording missing people, hospitalized and dead victims, and found person reports; the programme could match records to put lost and found together;
 - b. Recording of property damage, health records, common antidotes and treatments;
 - c. Sources of information on technical subjects, including reference texts and resource people;
 - d. Information on calculating relief quanta according to international standards.
- 3. Methodologies of *objective injury assessment* for different types of damage have been developed by professionals for research purposes. These methodologies need to be collected and made available to professionals involved in post-disaster management. Very often medical professionals not involved in research are ignorant of these methodologies.





- 4. Since many of the day to day struggles over industrial and environme hazards involve highly technical and specific questions, they freque need to be resolved in terms of technical details. These struggles shoul reinvigorated, wherever possible, with an awareness of fundamental hu and peoples' rights. However in many instances, a rights-based approximately will not be sufficient since the struggles will be conducted in term specific legal and technical issues. In these cases, trade unions community groups should be able to draw upon legal examples from o countries. For instance, the experience of public interest litigation in It may provide a model for more effective remedies in other Asian countries and the conducted, perhaps by a group such as the Occupational Health and Sa Centre, Bombay, or by international trade union organisations.
- 5. Trade unions, community groups, professionals, and governments sho strive to produce more suitable and *responsive compensation schemes*. device of interim relief adopted belatedly in the Bhopal case should universalised to mitigate suffering while medical studies and litigation in process. Victims should be entitled to scientific due process whereby features of independence, accountability, and appeal are built into compensation scheme. Victims should be entitled to a second opinion medical matters. In constructing categorisation schemes, governments professionals should exercise vigilance to listen to the concerns of viction and avoid over-hasty categorisations. Categories should be kept flexical admitting the possibility of revision in light of further medical evident
- 6. Since potential victims of industrial and environmental hazards generations away, beyond the immediate imagination of most people, g efforts should be made to *avoid short-term thinking*, especially the levels of community decision-making and in the formulation government policy.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO GOVERNMENTS

Governments not only bear the principal responsibility for protecting hurrights, they also possess the administrative capacity and legal sanction to subundertakings to technical regulation. Though the Tribunal wishes to emphasishe importance of peoples' movements and international action, governments

· Proposals and Recommendations for Action

action must be the foremost element in any rights protection system. Government action should be proactive and comprehensive, so the recommendations below are not exhaustive, but indicative:

- 1. Governments should establish comprehensive national insurance schemes which would provide complete and speedy cover for risks relating to industrial and environmental hazards.
- 2. Governments should systematically require that any plans for hazardous production, whether by government or private entities, should be made public at the earliest possible moment, and thus made subject to public debate. Details regarding manufacturing processes and chemicals should be made available to local communities. Governments should formulate freedom of information laws which entitle communities and workers to adequate information, and which could be used to compel companies and government agencies to produce information vital to the health and well being of citizens.
- 3. For every proposed instance of hazardous production, governments should require an environmental impact assessment to be conducted by a well-funded independent body, free of political and social pressure, and working to the highest possible professional standards. The assessment should be widely disseminated and made available for public debate.
- 4. For matters of injury assessment, governments should adopt the device used in South Korea of a joint medical board composed of medical doctors appointed in equal numbers by employers and workers.
- 5. Governments should take steps to consult competent non-governmental organisations at every stage of formulating and implementing policies on industrial and environmental hazards.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

Since industrial and environmental hazards represent an urgent and common problem facing all humanity, concerted international action is imperative. Given the predictable regularity and severity of industrial and environmental hazards, entailing unconscionable victimization of thousands of men, women and

children, the Tribunal recommends that members of the internation community:

- 1. Establish a Specialised Committee on Industrial and Environme Hazards to formulate standards conceived in consultation with workers community groups, to guide member states on appropriate strates of disaster prevention and hazard mitigation, and to supervise implementation of such strategies;
- 2. Expand the Technical Assistance to Developing Countries programme include consideration and vocalisation of such strategies;
- 3. Urge the Human Rights Commission to introduce an agenda item industrial and environmental hazards, and to explore the formulation standards for the promotion and protection of human rights in situations endemic or extraordinary hazards;
- 4. Mandate the International Law Commission to include in the progress development and codification of international law the responsibilities states, both exporters and importers of hazardous technologies, concernithe duties of cooperation to ensure protection of individuals and peop threatened or affected by such technologies;
- 5. Call upon the World Health Organisation to provide for appropri training programmes for medical professionals providing sustained heat care to victims of industrial and environmental hazards;
- 6. Welcome the concern and work of the International Labour Organisation the area of industrial disasters, but urge the ILO to evolve, in const consultation with victims groups, principles and responsibilities applica to governments, employers, and workers to mitigate human suffering in wake of industrial and environmental hazards;
- 7. Urge the UN Committee on Crime Prevention and Treatment Offenders to develop appropriate instrumentalities for developing, throu its educational and standard-setting programmes, the capabilities national criminal justice systems to process and punish violations human rights necessarily entailed in situations of industrial environmental hazards;

Proposals and Recommendations for Action

- 8. Urge UNESCO to contribute to greater awareness of these issues through pedagogy and curricula, and to support creative and artistic works which portray the impact of industrial and environmental hazards;
- 9. Establish by means of an international convention, an Industrial and Environmental Hazards Insurance Agency along the lines of the existing Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency, under which any enterprise investing in a lesser developed country would be obliged to insure against possible damages from industrial and environmental hazards, and which would apply to all projects financed by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with the additional requirement that all projects insured by the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency should be required to assume this additional insurance cover;
- 10. Establish by means of an international convention, a Permanent Tribunal:

Composed of international representative persons of high moral standing, serving in their personal capacity,

With jurisdiction on disputes relating to damage due to hazardous activities, empowered to make final and binding decisions on such disputes,

Endowed with a Hazards Fund supported by mandatory deposits made by private investors and governments from which its monetary decisions should be satisfied, and

With jurisdiction over international criminal charges in cases of industrial and environmental hazards.

11. Revise the Statute of International Court of Justice to ensure standing to individuals complaining of the violation of international law by states, including victims of major industrial and environmental disasters.

Recognising that intergovernmental regional organisations have a critical role to play in enhancing the culture of fundamental freedoms and human rights and their protection and promotion by regional collaborative efforts, the Tribunal urges such organisations, including ANCOM, ASEAN, CARICOM, ECAFE, ECA, ECLA, ECOWAS, EC, and SAARC to evolve appropriate instruments for

regulating hazardous activities, enhance measures for the realization of the ri to justice of victims of hazardous industries, and provide victims of such haz with access to inter-regional adjudication mechanisms.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO PEOPLES' ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS

Given the frequent failure of national and international institutions to add industrial and environmental hazards, there is an urgent need for a more effect response from peoples cooperating, through local, national, and international channels.

- 1. Recognising that the inter-governmental nature of UN specialised agen limits their autonomy and inhibits their effectiveness, the Tribuvisualises the emergence of transnational institutions and networks whould act in accordance with the Universal Declaration of the Right Peoples. Just as the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal attempts to provide forum for justice where official institutions are inadequate, so too people institutions analogous to the World Health Organization and International Labour Organisation should be established to provinformation, assistance, and technical support with a view to prevent and mitigating the human rights abuses associated with industrial environmental hazards.
- 2. In the face of a large disaster such as Bhopal, the traditional suspicion government corruption and corporate fraud is intensified. At the same til the sheer volume of human suffering and technical problems in overwhelm local capacities to respond. For these reasons, there is an urganeed for an outside neutral mediating group with medical, scientific, le human rights, and emergency-response expertise. The Tribunal welcome the proposal to establish a 'Green Cross' organisation to facility immediate relief, ongoing cooperative healing of victims, and technical assistance to support medical surveys, litigation, and community responsible in no way condones the irresponsible planning which sets up the probabilities of such disasters occurring.
- 3. In recognition of the symbolic importance of Bhopal as the site of world's worst industrial disaster, and as a means of giving pract

Proposals and Recommendations for Action

assistance to workers and communities exposed to serious risk from industrial and environmental hazards, the Tribunal urges the formation of an International Centre for Research, Information Exchange and Analytical Services on Industrial and Environmental Hazards, in Bhopal.

- 4. Professional associations, including those of lawyers, engineers, and medical doctors should institute programmes to debate actively, among themselves, the ethics of representing powerful institutions against weaker victims. Ideally, a code of ethics sensitive to human and peoples' rights should be adopted in each case. Professional associations should lend assistance to peoples' movements in a systematic way.
- 5. Since governments are often unwilling or unable to impose effective sanctions upon companies and agencies guilty of causing human suffering and environmental damage, peoples' organisations should consider ways and means of developing 'peoples' sanctions' against offenders. Sanctions may include devices such as boycotts of consumer products, demonstrations and media campaigns, or disinvestment. Efforts should be taken to elaborate and organise proposals for people's sanctions.

TOWARDS AN AGENDA FOR THE FOURTH SESSION

At the fourth and final session of the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal on Industrial and Environmental Hazards and Human Rights, the development of themes and issues in this session will need to be carried forward. Additionally, there are topics which require further exploration. Accordingly, the Tribunal mandates the Secretary-General to:

- a. Constitute a working group to develop and expand a Charter of Rights and Responsibilities relating to Industrial and Environmental Hazards to be presented to the fourth session of the Tribunal.
- b. Commission regional and problem-oriented reports, tailored to provide necessary information in a comprehensive and concise format, including information on:
 - Industrial and environmental hazards in Latin America, Africa and Eastern Europe;

- A re-examination of the policies of the IMF and IBRD promo industrial hazards;
- An examination of the rights violations specific to women, especinvolving harrassment, economic exploitation, and routine expote to hazardous products and processes;
- The new and largely unexplored hazards of genetic engineering bio-technology;
- The specific hazards associated with nuclear materials, include
 i) Production, ii) Accidents, iii) Waste, iv) Decommissioning,
 v) Consumption;
- Investigation of models, alternatives, and existing best pract regarding institutions for disaster management and the provision relief,
- A comparative analysis of existing legal arrangements for haze prevention and mitigation, with a view to arriving at generalised legal recommendations.

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